2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
KuKwe

even defaecate in the house. And at the inheritance, when I have inherited the women, they go to their own homes with a bull if I am wealthy, or perhaps three shillings. They go back to their fathers with the dirt on them—*ingotolo*!

QUESTION: Where does the *ingotolo* come from when you do not treat them?

MWAFULA: Kyala is startled and you gasp with *ingotolo*, your breath is short.

QUESTION: Does the husband also go to his place?

MWAFULA: Yes, he always returns to his father's.

QUESTION: Why the two leaves representing a man and a woman at the hitting the ground and saying: '*Syeka, syeka*'?

MWAFULA: Because we are two [holding up two fingers], a man and a woman. Formerly when someone died as a bachelor they took a leaf of the sweet banana and said: 'It is your wife.' They buried it with him, saying: 'Go to the land of the shades because you were never married.'

QUESTION: What does the mocking at shaving mean?

MWAFULA: It is one with stealing the plantain stem. We mock them meaning, may they escape, and not take rubbish from the rubbish heap. And at the shaving of the hair we drive him away, saying: 'Go to your fellows.' He has been alone, he was on the road, may he go.

Porokoto the Chief admitted that the wearing of leaves and bananas in the rituals of death and of puberty were symbols of fertility (*ifimanyilo fya mbapo*); the plantain represents the penis, the sweet banana represents the clitoris, 'for in the old days they wore leaves only, no cloths'. In the puberty ritual the wearing of leaves and bananas is the same. It is a sign of fertility: 'the ritual is now finished and the girl is someone's wife.'

Mwaijumba, who provided the beer of inheritance for the ritual of Njobe Nani, explained to us as he drank: 'We drink beer to drive away our friend. It means that everything is finished: "Come to your house frequently now. It is finished! May the fathers [i.e. the other shades] receive him! May he not return! We have poured out this beer for you, it is finished."'

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Selya, MaNgonde

vessel of milk and two stems of bananas. We do not carry her in triumph. The mothers-in-law do not bring the powdered medicine.' One informant maintained that the bride was always examined before she washed with her husband (if she was a chief wife) and we once saw the bride examined at the *ukuingenia* ritual, but the examination before handing over the bull is the only one mentioned by most people. What is certain is that virginity must be publicly demonstrated in the ritual and that it is honoured.

After the shaving and instruction, the bride goes round her father's village visiting the men who have not already given her a gift. She is accompanied by the wife of the go-between who represented her father in the marriage negotiations. Each of her father's fellow villagers (as well as her elder brothers and her father's full sisters) should give her something—a bark-cloth, a chicken, a calabash, a spearhead, or some coins, as he greets her. These the bride divides between her maids, the officiant who treated her in the ritual, her husband, and herself; to the wife of the go-between is due one pot of the beer brewed for the shaving ritual, to take home to her husband.

If the agreed number of marriage-cattle have been handed over, the bride's father puts millet to soak for beer immediately after the rite of instruction has been completed and the bull of puberty eaten. When the brewing is ready the bride is formally taken to her husband's house (*ulambeka*) by a 'mother' and one or two of her maids. Her own mother never goes—the woman of the party is usually a junior wife of the bride's father or the wife of the go-between. They take with them one or two pots of beer, a basketful of plantains to roast for her husband, two or three cooking pots, a log of firewood, a calabash of light ointment (*isyemba*), and a little pot of brown ointment (*imbale*) for anointing her husband and his friends in the village. 'What the wife brings when she comes for the first time is for all the men of the village to use to anoint themselves. They come every day to use it until it is finished.' These ointments are brought by every wife but they are especially important if the bride is her husband's first wife, and it is his bachelor neighbours who mostly use them. The bride also brings the fine mat and several coarse ones which she has woven during her seclusion, bark-cloths she has made for herself, and three hearth bricks (*amafyo*) carefully moulded for her by her mother out of clay and manure mixed with medicines. These are set up in her

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Kukwe

Record of M. W., 13 September 1936

881 I arrived at nine o'clock in the morning to find Syungu, the elderly
739 wife of the chief's senior brother, who acts as officiant in all the rituals for the chief's family, grinding and cooking *isyombo* together with a powdered medicine and red pigment, to make an ointment. I asked the purpose of the medicine. She replied: 'It's *ikipiki* that she may be heavy, that she may bear children and not be barren.'

273 Some of the chief's wives gave me beer—ordinary beer. They them-
789 selves were drinking from a pot which had stood in the inner part of the house (*kanyo*) and to which medicine had been added. They explained that it might be drunk only by themselves, the chief's wives. A strange woman, a Penja, came along and, though warned that this pot was
[71] not for her, insisted on drinking some of it. She explained how Penja ritual differed from that of the Kukwe—they kill sheep for the puberty ritual. Usually this beer stands to brew in the seclusion hut 'on the litter'.

981 The women were preparing a dish of beans and bananas cooked together, and when it was ready a little was given to the officiant, some was put aside for the girl (*nsungu*),[1] and the remains were offered to the guests. One of the cooks threw away the central stem of the head of bananas used, but was told by the officiant to fetch it back, as all the rubbish must be cleared away together at the end of the rite.

After midday the officiant shaved some hair from the girl's temples and the back of her neck, and then she shaved the mother completely. I asked why the girl was not shaved completely and was told: 'Her fellows would laugh at her if she had no hair.' The officiant prepared four banana leaves, stripping each off on one side of the mid-rib and shredding the other half so as to make a rough fringe. Standing with her back to the girl, she touched herself over the genitals, breasts, and forehead, then handed the leaf back over her head, telling the girl to fasten it round her waist. She repeated the performance with the second leaf, telling the girl to fasten it round her neck. The girl complied with the first leaf but refused the second, saying: 'I have a cloth,' and she pulled her breast cloth round her shoulders. The officiant followed the same procedure with the girl's mother, who fastened both leaves round herself. Then one of the chief's wives took the mother on her shoulders and carried her round the corner of the house. The bride followed on foot, and three other wives of the chief, singing:

Kyanaia
Kyatiko
Kyanaiae
Kyatiko

[28] [1] Usually we have translated *nsungu* by 'bride', but in this case she was not betrothed: cf. footnote 2, p. 75.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Lugulu

if he does not. He does not enter the home. There would be fighting if he did! But he stands outside, and when he hears them praising he praises the parents too. No one hears him, he does it to save his sight. He comes with two or three friends but gets no food. 851

Then we give them beer, and they drink and we drink till dawn. [273] And dawn finds many in drunken sleep. Then the go-between says: 'Dawn has come, friends, let us go!' And they go off and we bid them farewell. And my son, the bride's brother, goes off with them. The husband goes home with his friends, and then the go-between and my son and daughter (these three only) come back. Then our go-between [representing the bride's father] who is on the look-out for them, says: 'They come!' and we go out and call: 'Why do you come here again?' And we throw clubs at them and drive them off. Then the go-between goes home and the two come back and we greet them and say: 'Have you slept?' And food is cooked and they eat. Then that same day the girl goes off to her husband, alone, with food that her mothers have cooked.

QUESTION: What is the reason for the custom?

KAKUWE: They have made the custom to gain wealth—that bull. The porridge (*ukyende*) and relish (*ilisoka*) must be called *misyama*. If I, the father, or the mother, or the husband, call it porridge, then the one who does so will go blind. We Kukwe do not do this, but if one of us marries one of the people who observe it, that is, a daughter of the Lugulu, he must avoid or else he will lose his sight.

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Nyakyusa

845 Then the doctor called for water, added powder to it, and took Mwaipopo, the owner of the homestead, off to the edge of the bananas, some way from the house, to wash. He scratched a hole with his hands under a banana stem, and buried a packet (just like the one thrown over his shoulder by Mwakobela) which the doctor gave him. Then she poured the water for him and he washed his hands and mouth, as the others had done at Mwakobela's place. The doctor took the mother of twins off to the edge of the swept place, some distance away, and poured water for her to wash her hands and mouth likewise. All this was quietly and seriously done.

[273] A calabash of beer was then brought out of the house, the doctor put powder in, the mother of the twins stirred it, Mwaipopo drank first, and all the others in turn. Likonyela was present and took part in all this. He took off some medicated beer to take to his sister, Kipesile, who lives in Ipande. 'She is sick and I want to go to see her, so I shall take the medicine to her myself.' I asked him why he was not at Mwakobela's (being a classificatory son of Mwakobela). He replied: 'Well, they never sent me a message, to call me, so I came here.' He and Mwaipopo, the head of this homestead, are sons of two sisters. Likonyela's wives were not here—'They are sick'; but one of his children was here carried by a younger sister of one of his wives.

Some medicated beer was also taken by a man, Kikaja, son of Nokile, a cross-cousin (*unlani*). 'His father was our mother's brother.'

Then the mother of twins went into the house and took out three baskets of cooked food and one pot of beer prepared for her. Each time she took up a basket the women of the house shouted: 'Ha! The child is snatching food, that is taboo!' She also took out a little pot of ointment and one of rouge. Then she cut at a growing stem of bananas with a spear, while the women of the homestead shouted: 'The child is cutting a banana stem, it is taboo!' The stem was finally severed by a boy with a hoe—she did not cut it through. Then the women of the homestead rushed at the mother of twins and greeted her and pressed round the infant excitedly. One of them explained to me: 'We, his mothers, are greeting him [the twin], we say to him: "We have never seen you before, how are you standing up to the cold?" ' They also tied little pieces of string to the twin's wrists. 'It's to greet him and break the taboo (*ko kambonola*),' they said.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

Life is never dull for the African. There are marriages and funerals here as elsewhere; the former always a joyous occasion, the latter not always or necessarily the reverse. A walk through a populous village will bring one upon net making, pot making, basket or cloth weaving, and one may hear the sharp tap-tap of the bark cloth worker, or, in an iron-working district, the clang of the blacksmith's stone hammer, beating out hoes or spears upon a rough stone anvil. And many drive dullness away with beer. Sometimes it is a small party. A few friends gather in a house, and sit around a pot or two of beer provided by the wife of the host. They drink to the strumming of a *pango* or the beating of a small drum, for they like to have music at their feasts, even when only a few are gathered. But if it is a village feast, given by the chief, it may go on all night with terrific noise, shouting, singing, and drumming; and not always does the feast end without fighting.

Sometimes the villagers receive visitors. The native evangelist on his rounds is always hospitably welcomed. The tax collector is not exactly welcomed—who ever welcomes a tax collector?—but he is received well enough, for his coming has at least this advantage, that those who are ready to pay the sum demanded will not have to go later and pay at the *boma* (magistrate's office), which may be a long distance away. Sometimes a native trader comes along, his packs carried by attendants, for he never carries them himself, even when beginning on a small scale. Visitors

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

by each drinker as an offering to his individual ancestors. 273

Great crops of millet (*malesi*) are grown every year for beer; but if the other food-stuffs threaten to give out before the new crops are ready, the chief issues a prohibition against beer making, and the crop is used for ordinary food. Licences are now required for beer making and selling; but this regulation can only be enforced in the neighbourhood of a magistrate, and drinking goes on without restriction throughout the district.

To make the full-bodied strong beer, *malesi* is put into a closely woven basket and placed in water for a night. In the morning, swollen to twice its previous size, it is put into a number of smaller baskets, and covered with banana leaf. In a few days it sprouts, and is taken out and spread in the sun, and when dry it is pounded into flour. Over the flour, again divided into a number of baskets, is poured boiling water, and the *wukesi*, as it is now called, is left to cool; it then *stands for four or five days, when the final mixing* with boiling water takes place. An expert comes to taste it when cool, and if he pronounces it good, the guests are called to the feast. The women, in long procession, carry the beer to the place of feasting, and sometimes drink along with the men, more often by themselves.

As the night goes on prodigious quantities are consumed, and the noise becomes terrific. Drumming, shouting, singing, tramping of feet are the accompaniments; and at Karonga I have had to get out of

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

262 To-day there are many, even among the heathen, who say grace before food; only the older men now follow the ancient custom of laying aside a small portion of every meal for the spirits. But there are many superstitions nevertheless among young and old. There is a family at Itete which eats neither flesh nor fish, nor ground nuts, any of which cause violent vomiting. Others will eat fish but not flesh, and *vice versa*. 262 753 Eland and bushbuck bring on leprosy in some families; goat brings ringworm; rhinoceros gives people a white skin; and hippo is very dangerous in the neighbourhood of lepers; for lepers are buried in ant-hills, but they soon remove and betake themselves to the water, and enter the body of a hippo; so, if you eat hippo, you may be eating leper! Nyakyusa women will not eat a fowl, for fowls in the night cry out the names of ancestors! But a cock which gives a faint cry in the early morning is quite safe. There are many who have abandoned all these beliefs, but the vast majority of the people still cling to them.

• 273 *Drinking*.—Beer is drink for men and gods; or if not for gods, it is a drink urgently demanded by the spirits. With few exceptions, it is offered at all religious ceremonies, but there is no special way of making the beer for the offering; it differs from ordinary beer only in that the cereal (*malwi*) from which it is made is contributed by all the people, while that used at an ordinary feast is made from *malwi* provided by the entertainer. Even at these feasts, however, a little is spilled on the ground

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

273 bed at midnight to break up drunken revels, and drive to bed men who, though sternly refused permission to finish the beer, vowed themselves, in drunken sentimentality, my eternal friends. But not always do beer feasts end so happily. As in other lands, some men become jocular in drink, others quarrelsome, and
[579] many a Konde beer feast has ended in a spear fight. Beer is an accompaniment of feasts given at births, marriages, and deaths; but occasion of that sort need not be waited for. The chief may give a feast at any time; or a man who has been long away from home celebrates his return; or the hoeing season provides an excuse; but with or without occasion, an immense amount of beer is drunk every year.

272 Light beer is made in many ways. A favourite is made from sweet potatoes laid out to dry, pounded into flour, and mixed with flour of maize, cassava, or other material, cooked, and drunk when cool. Ground-nuts shelled and ground, put into small baskets with water, and allowed to drip dry, then mixed with *malwi* flour, and cooked, is a common drink; as is also a light drink made from the juice of sugar-cane similarly mixed and cooked. All these are non-intoxicating, and are taken along with food, or at any other time as a refreshing drink.

733 Many of the more progressive chiefs are alive to the injury done by heavy drinking, and do all in their power to stop it; and native Christians who take any part in a beer feast are excluded from the sacraments. By the action of the Government in exercising control over beer, of some of the better chiefs, and of the

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

643 652 The gardens of the Kyungu were divided traditionally into public (*imilasa*) and private ones (*imigunda gya masano*). The produce of the first was mainly devoted to the entertainment of important guests—chiefs, territorial nobles and the ivory traders from over the lake. That of the second to the personal needs of the Kyungu and his household. 643 651 The public gardens were hoed and weeded by the great chiefs and the nobles of the Ngonde plain with their subordinates and followers, the private ones by the nobles of Ngonde with theirs.

The hoeing of his public gardens by the chiefs and nobles of the plain was as intimately connected with the religious status of the Kyungu as was the bringing of royal tusks to him, for the belief in his rain-making powers provided a moral sanction for it. Drought and disease, as we have seen, were often attributed to the displeasure of the living Kyungu; and the failure of some ruler to bring his people to work the public gardens was, so we were told, the most usual way of displeasing him. The wealth and the divinity of the Kyungu were inextricably linked. Nor without these public gardens could the lucrative ivory trade have been maintained. In the primitive world of Ngonde there were no "purely business relations;" tributaries and buyers alike had to be royally feasted.

643 651 565 622 In the hoeing of the public gardens the political hierarchy of Ngonde was made evident, for each great chief came separately to hoe, accompanied both by the local chiefs of his own house and by those territorial nobles who lived near him. At an appropriate time either the great chief or one of his noble neighbours would suggest going to Mbande to hoe, and the former would then summon all his local chiefs. But he could not summon the nobles; with them it was a polite arrangement between equals. "When they went to hoe for the Kyungu it might be a neighbouring noble and not the great chief at all who made the first suggestion; and then the two of them would go together with their followers. For the nobles are not subjects of the great chiefs but only of the Kyungu."

651 241 476 273 The main crop grown in the public gardens was millet (*amalesi*) for beer. And at some time during the year all the chiefs and nobles[1] who had brought men to hoe[2] them were summoned to taste "the beer of the malasa." So we see that, in one aspect, the hoeing of the public gardens of the Kyungu was but an extension on a large scale of the

[1] It is clear from our notes that each chief and noble brought to this beer-drink some of his people; but it is not clear whether he brought all those who had worked or only the more important among them.

[2] I speak of "hoeing" and "men." It is fairly certain that the women also came to weed afterwards and that they participated in the beer. We omitted, however, to find this out.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17.

ordinary custom of hoeing parties which is still followed by every chief and commoner in this whole area. Every man, two or three times a year, invites his neighbours to hoe for him and rewards them with a beer-drink in the evening. Where the hoeing of the Kyungu's public gardens differed from this custom was in the religious sanction behind it and in its political organization.

After the local chiefs had finished the *mulasa* for the Kyungu they would next return and hoe a small garden for their great chief who had led them to Mbande. But in this the territorial nobles took no part. Such gardens were not called *milasa* and there was no distinction made between them and the great chief's private ones. For this custom also there was a moral sanction; for the great chiefs, we remember, also participated in divinity. "If his people forgot to hoe for Mwakasungula then perhaps a little local epidemic of some kind would break out and the diviners, when questioned, would attribute it to their forgetfulness. Or perhaps a prophetic fit would fall on some one and he would tell them to go and hoe (or they would rue it!)"

And, still lower in the hierarchy, among a group of chiefs who were half-brothers, the senior chief used sometimes to summon his juniors to bring their men and hoe; but "their acquiescence depended on their friendship for him"; it seems to have had no effective moral sanction.

The private gardens of the Kyungu were traditionally very small indeed, for the constant income of food from the plain made them all but unnecessary. Such as they were, they were worked by the people of Mbande, i.e. the nobles of Ngonde and their followers. The wives of the Kyungu lived like ladies and had all the normal work of a woman, including weeding, done for them.

The income of the Kyungu in slaves and cattle cannot be understood save in the context of judicial procedure and warfare with which we have not yet dealt[1].

The income of Mbande reached others besides the Kyungu and his wives. We have already seen how the nobles of Ngonde took their share of the food which was brought in; and some of it they gave to their messengers, the *walakuta*. Neither the nobles of Ngonde nor the messengers, according to the present Kyungu, used to have any large gardens of their own; they also were maintained at the public expense. And the nobles of Ngonde shared also in the proceeds of the ivory.

With the exception of a pile of tusks upon which the Kyungu slept, most of the ivory which reached Mbande, from the time of Mwangonde

[1] *Vide infra* sections 5 and 6.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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Here is your cow, your food. We pray to Kyala. May theft go away. Give us food and beans and millet, may we eat and be satisfied. . . . It is said that the sweet potatoes are scarce now, help us. You Mwakabule (117), Mwakomo (112). . . . This is your cow Mwaijonga (82). This is your meat. I shall seek another also which we shall give you like this:

NOULYO: May the locusts go away. It is you who have caused theft because there is hunger.

KMOOOTA: At night since we eat scraps of food our bellies are disquieted . . . may we be satisfied. People are eating millet porridge;[1] when food is plentiful they say it's horrible. When someone eats millet porridge he dies, it kills a man. We pray to him, this Kyala, because we do not know him, so we say: 'You Mwaijonga (82) drive away the hunger. Give all of us, Mwaipopo's people, food, and hear us all.'

Mwaipopo's young sons (not the older ones) ate the rest of the sacred meat (*vide* plate 8). Other boys who approached were chased away: 'They thought because their friends were getting meat they would too.' Then the remainder of the carcass was divided: two legs went to the chiefs, two to the commoners, the chine to Kasitile, the breast to Mwaipopo (the chief) who gave half to his sons and half to his daughters—his wives may not eat it. The head went to the priests Ngulyo and his fellows—and some entrails were sent to Seba, widow of Mwaijonga (82). There was some discussion about the disposal of the head: 'Let it be put in Ngulyo's house', they said. Mwaipopo commenting later, explained:

We leave the head in the house of a commoner near the sacred grove in order that the shades can come and eat it. So also with the chine. . . . Kasitile leaves it so that his shades may eat it. We throw the meat by a tree which was planted long ago. He whom we have buried looks towards it, he sits facing the tree and the meat is thrown beside it.[2] He sees the meat we throw. We offer the meat of the upper forelegs (*jimmapa*), this is the sacred meat, the rest we eat ourselves. The blood pours out on to the ground, it goes beneath, which means that the owners, the shades, receive it, because they are beneath. The shades say: 'We are angry because you have not given us cows to treat the grove, we are angry and send this hunger. Treat the grove frequently!'

Kasitile also discussed the ritual with us later and he remarked:

[1] Millet is ordinarily used only for brewing beer. The Nyakyusa regard millet porridge as very distasteful and eat it only during extreme scarcity.

[2] We omitted to ask why, in this case, a hut had not been built in the grove.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

CHAPTER IX

KASITILE THE PRIEST

We turn now from the description of rituals to a personal document, an account of the illness of Kasitile (86), the leading priest of Selya, the causes suggested for it, and the rituals performed. His case shows: (i) the power of village headmen over chiefs in general, more particularly the power of the commoner priests (village headmen of the previous generation) over hereditary priests of the chief's lineage; (ii) the persistent linking of misfortune with sin in both public and private life; (iii) the function of divination in selecting between possible causes of disease; (iv) the influences of Christian and Muslim teaching and Western medical science on a conservative who goes so far as to invite a Muslim to cut the throat of the sacrificial animal and speaks of turning Christian in his old age; and (v) the very great importance attached to 'speaking out' (*ukunywa*) and not leaving anger to smoulder unconfessed. Beer is necessary for such a ritual 'speaking out' and the participants are pressed to drink deep, for *is nso seriius*.

The *dramatis personae* are:

KASITILE (86) of the chief's lineage, priest of Selya
JANE his senior and favourite wife
JANE'S YOUNGER SISTER and co-wife
KILULELE a third wife suspected of bewitching Kasitile
MWAIPOPO (116) the chief and senior kinsman of Kasitile
MWAKYONDE (148) the doctor who was treating Kasitile
KINGA *priests* (i.e. Kikungubeja Nyanigwa, Kyamba Kitali, *vide* pp. 24-34)
NGULUVO, NJOROKOSA, KIMOOOTA } Village headmen of Mwaljonga (82) and priests of his grove, *vide* pp. 74-7, 84-5
MWAMAKUNDA THE ELDER a hereditary priest, assistant to Kasitile
MWAMAKUNDA THE YOUNGER (Mwambagoje) son of the elder who often acted in his place

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797 went away to work again and in time I earned four cows which I
795 hid with friends far from home. My father knew nothing about
583 them. Then I wrote to my father from Mwasebe [about twenty
584 miles from where his father lived] where I was working, saying that I had found a girl there, the daughter of a Christian, and please could I have the cows with which to marry her? My father said: "No, she lives too far away." ' Then later he found a Christian girl of whom his father approved and a satisfactory marriage was arranged.

A common topic of discussion among Christian women was whether parents should choose mates for their children, or leave them free to choose for themselves, for though traditionally a girl had to signify her consent to marriage, she was betrothed very young and her freedom of choice was small. The growing insistence on personal freedom in marriage is symptomatic of a radical change in the attitude towards persons.

797 The pagan rituals were the main occasions of recreation. It has
795 been shown, in *Rituals of Kinship*, how pagan funerals and marriages
[764] are the occasion for feasting and dancing and display, and how the
[585] seclusion hut of a nubile girl is the gathering place for the young
[782] men and girls of the neighbourhood. Even a twin ritual is a festival with beer for the older men and some meat for everyone. The sacrifices at the groves were feasts for the leading men of the country, and the 'coming out' was the occasion of the greatest feast of the generation, and dances were practised for months
[796] ahead. Partly because of a change in sex morality, and partly
[688] because the meat and beer at pagan feasts are offered to the shades, Christians are largely excluded from these festivals. They may not participate in pagan dances, or join in the lewd songs, or attend the initiation hut of a girl, and they are partly debarred from the feasts of the pagans: certain of the Churches (notably the Church
● [273] of Scotland and, for a time, the Moravians) forbid Christians to drink beer at all.

[796] And the Christian rituals, though some of them are 'festivals of the Church', are scarcely celebrated as such. There has been a separation between ritual and recreation which has left a gap in the Christian community. It is true that the Christian young men
[535] and girls sing and dance at funerals and marriages, but the elders,
[684] for the most part, look on with dubious eyes, saying that dancing leads to adultery, and several of the dances introduced by

245 Bananas and plantains are grown all over the district except in the highlands to the north and west. Numerous local varieties abound, with a red plantain and the *Sukari* variety of [262 273] banana as recent introductions, and are used exclusively for food, no beer being made. They [251] are mostly dried and pounded with pestle and mortar to be used as flour, although they are also eaten whole after roasting.

244 Sweet potatoes are extensively grown. They are planted on contoured ridges from 3-4 feet high. Planting distances vary from 6 inches to 1 foot in either direction. They are planted in March to May and north of Tukuyu take eight [252] months to mature, but south of that place four months is sufficient. Sweet potatoes are eaten boiled or roasted.

243 Finger millet is used more for beer-making than for food. It is always sown broadcast in [262 November to January and harvested in March 273] to May. The land is first hand-hoed and all grass put into heaps and burnt when dry. In the highlands to the west the trees are lopped and branches piled in heaps to be burnt. Contoured ridges are put in at intervals depending on the slope of the land. The harvesting is carried out just before the grain is ripe by cutting off the heads and stacking in the field while ripening proceeds. The heads are then collected into large baskets and steeped in water for a day, after which they are taken out [251] and rubbed with the hands to separate the grain from the chaff. The millet is then dried and stored in earthenware pots or mud-covered baskets until required. It is reported that it can be stored for five or six years by this method, but I have not verified this personally.

244 Beans are nearly always interplanted with 252 maize or sown in banana plantations and the 262 local seed is of mixed varieties. They are eaten boiled as a relish with other food such as maize. The leaves are also eaten dried or fresh.

245 Groundnuts are grown in the medium and 251 lower altitudes. Planted in November to February and harvested in April to July, they are dried in the shell and eaten raw.

243 Rice is grown on the lake shore and also in the neighbouring foothills. It is sown broadcast in November to February and harvested in May to August. Yields are not high in the foothills, being about 6-7 bags of paddy to the acre. Many local varieties are grown, such [252 as Musafiri, Mwangulu, and Marula. The hill 438] rice is eaten boiled, but most is sold hand-hulled in the markets for purely local consumption.

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17 Nyakyusa

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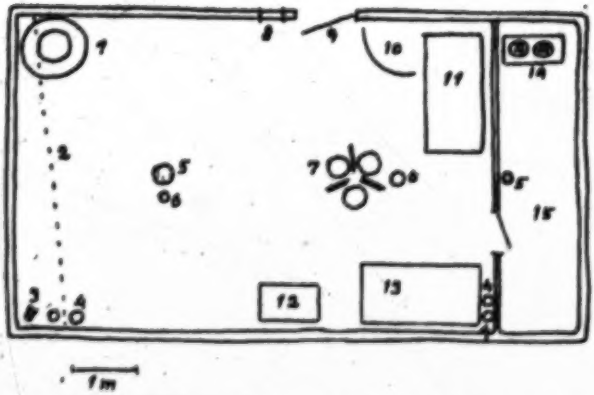

Idina's house. 1, basket; 2, clothes-line; 3, broom; 4, jars, in the back room on low shelf; 5, posts supporting roof; 6, small dimension bamboo poles, supports for the ceiling; 7, hearth with three round hearthstones; 8, shuttered opening through which the bolt may be reached; 9, door; 10, cassava for food; 11, spare bed; 12, table; 13, Idina's bed; 14, shelf for jars; 15, store-room behind mud wall with door.

[361] man and his two wives. The houses were grouped round a common courtyard, the doors giving upon this space and not on the nearby village thoroughfare.

The three houses bore the names of Iseliña's house, Idina's house, and Baba's house. The elder wife, Iselina, had several minor children, who slept either near her own bed or in the living area. She owned furnishings as modern as a chair and a cupboard with shelves, besides the usual objects in these houses, baskets, bamboo mugs, hen's nest and roost, ladder and water jars. She also had an earthenware beer jar which, one day when I called on her, was standing on the fire, nearly making the froth boil over. She was preparing beer for her husband's friends, who had just dropped in.

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[415 273]

352 [353 262]

The new wife, Idina, had a store-room in her house, and there was also a large heap of cassava, meant for food. As often seen in these houses, she had also a guest bed. She had a number of jars and baskets, but no hen's nest. Straight across the room she had suspended a line on which she put her clothes. Such an arrangement was often used, especially by the bachelors; they had a line for their shirts. Clothes-hangers were not in use. You just threw your clothes across the line. A wardrobe was never seen.

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The interior of Baba's house presented a peculiar picture. It was divided into three rooms, a living-area in the middle; at one side the bed-room, at the other a store-room. The bed-room had only one bed and a wooden chest. There was no hearth in the living-room—for the husband had his meals prepared by one of his wives. But there was a true accumulation of tables, chairs, suitcases, and a

13: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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I went to the place and got permission to enter the hut in which the first part of the ceremony took place. I found there the parents of the girl, the girl sitting enveloped in clothes in one corner of the hut, and some older females, one of whom was the acting *unnyago*. Some male guests were also present[20]. As the girl had had her first catamenia the present ceremony marked at the same time the end of her preparation for marriage.

The *unnyago* prepared a beverage of beer in which a light-brown medical powder *(imbondanya)* was put. First the girl had to drink from it, then the parents followed. This beverage was believed to strengthen *(ubusisya)* the consumers. Then a spear was handed to the girl by her father, and the girl handed it in turn to some relatives of the bridegroom waiting near the hut. These persons had to bring the spear to the girl's bridegroom as a sign that he could now marry the girl[21], but not before he had brought a bull to the girl's father. After this the girl, now sitting in the middle of the hut, was given small gifts from the participants in the ceremony.

Practical instruction of premature girls in house-hold matters.

Following this the whole body of the girl was anointed before the door of the hut. The *unnyago* began by anointing her legs; then the girl herself continued it. The ointment was prepared from castor oil and a powder of red wood *(Kipimba,* found commonly in the environment of Lake Rukwa). At this moment a male participant in the ceremony chanced to, come out of the hut, and suddenly a young woman

[20] Cf. Wilson, Introduction, p. 258; The Study of African Society, p. 11 (The Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 2, 1939).

[21] *ukwega:* to take (also as regards marrying); *ubwegelo:* nuptials.

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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very substantial, the main meal being taken in the evening shortly before sunset.

8. Manufacture. The pot for cooking (*indeku*) is placed on three stones which form the hearth (*ikipembero*, hearth stones). The flat bowl made of clay used for the needs of the kitchen is called *ulwungubia* and a pig pot used for storing water *ingumbe*. The pots of clay are manufactured by Kissi women because in their land on the north-eastern shores of Lake Nyassa the best clay is found. In the eastern part of the Nyakyusa country adjacent to Kissi land the women visit the pottery markets of the Kissi, but to the remoter villages, e. g. around the Rungwe volcano the pottery is brought by Kissi men. In this case, owing to the great distance from the Kissi-Land the men carry the loads of eight to ten pots on their head between split poles of bamboo. The Kissi pots I saw in the Rungwe Station were ornamented in a rough way with red ochre and seemed only slightly baked. The hearth stones, however, are made by the Nyakyusa women themselves as I was able to observe near Rutenganio, where widows manufactured them for sale.

In many villages of the Nyakyusa I could watch basket-making. This I saw being done by men. In the chief's hut in Katumba I had the opportunity to admire a great number of very big baskets (*ifituba*) for storing grain, smeared with cow dung on the outside. The attractive closely wickered baskets, which are filled with *maiesi* (millet) and then placed in water for a night in the process of beer-brewing were originally made by the Buanyi, but nowadays also the Nyakyusa are said to be skilled enough to weave them. I had no opportunity to observe it, but could acquire an excellent specimen of that wicker-work.

9. The Meal. At the beginning of each meal the hands are washed, including those of children. The men take their meal separately from the women. The wives only eat when their husbands have been satisfied. Boys under ten years eat with their mothers, but as soon as they begin to live in age-set villages, they eat together with their friends of their own age-set, as described in detail by Mr. G. Wilson in his "Introduction of Nyakyusa Society" (Bantu Studies X, p. 271). The head of the family likes to eat together with his friends.

Meat is eaten very seldom, but on special occasions such as marriages, death lamentations, christenings of Christianized natives, enormous quantities are devoured. *Inyama* (Swahili: *nyama*) is the Nyakyusa word for all sorts of meat, *ingombe* for that of cattle and *ingombeku* for that of oxen. Near Utengule I saw black pigs (*ingurwe*, pig)

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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262 The tender leaves of pumpkins and taro plants (*amasimbi*, leaves of taro), as well as of a number of other plants growing wild (*indeke*) are also used as vegetables. This food is called *iseke*, a word denoting all sorts of green vegetables.

In his treatise on "The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakyusa" (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 1; 1938, p. 43). G. Wilson points out that the fruit of the so — called *unsyunguti* — tree is "both [278] delicious to eat and also full of seeds which are dried and crushed for ointment (*inyemba*)", but he adds that he had been unable to find out the botanical name of this useful tree. Perhaps the following passage in the article of Dr. Kerr Cross ("Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika"; Proc. Roy. Geogr. Inst. N.S.Vol. XIII, 1891, p. 98) may be helpful in this connection: "There is a tree of the 314 sycamore family which grows extensively all over the north of the [362] lake called mwisyungute by the natives which might be developed. [386] It is a most picturesque tree which produces a food, an oil, and a dye. The oil or fat, when cool, is solid, even at a tolerably high temperature, and is like beeswax. It burns well as a night-light, and with wax might [388] be made into candles. In a rude way I have made candles of it. It might also make an excellent soap."

273 As an adjunct to these foods curdy milk (*ulukama ulukafu*) is very [272] much esteemed[1], to say nothing of the various types of beer, mostly *prepared from millet for the men. Large fields of millet are, therefore,* to be seen everywhere in the land of the Nyakyusa. On one occasion I attended a beer drink in the hut of a chief. The conduct of the natives present, the chief and his advisers (*amafumu*), was in every respect [571] praise-worthy. Pleasant and interesting stories were narrated. Not infrequently the invitation of a commoner who has had some differences with his chief or one of the *amafumu* to such a feast is regarded as a gesture of reconciliation.

243 As in the time of Sir H. H. Johnston so also to-day "all the ooxy-meadows are planted with rice." A traveller coming from the hilly region to the north on nearing Lake Nyasa is struck by numerous large fields of rice in the plain at the northern end of the lake.

178 *11. Crafts.* Mackenzie (1925) is certainly justified in complains of the decay of the arts and crafts among the Nyakyusa. The Indian and European influence is to be seen everywhere in the deterioration and final dissolution of these branches of the ancient culture of the Nyaky-

[1] A. Wilson, Introduction, p. 256.